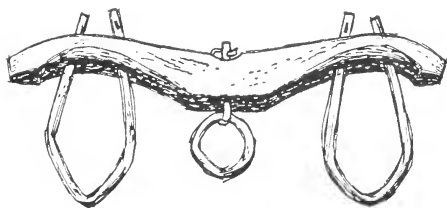


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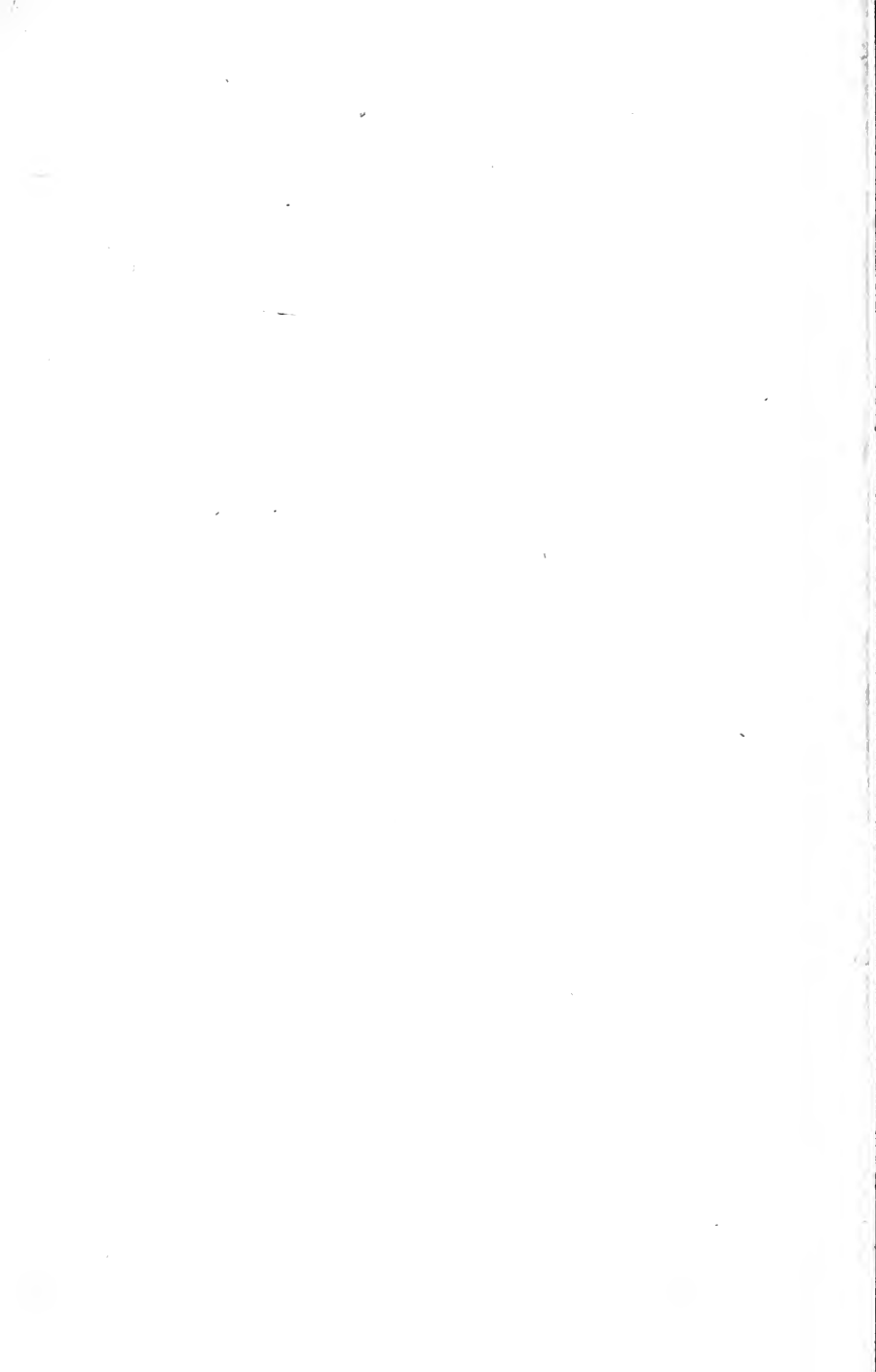
founded by

HARLAN HOYT HORNER

and

HENRIETTA CALHOUN HORNER

Chas. J. Hunt 1916.



ADDRESSES

*Delivered
At The
Celebration of*

THE ONE HUNDRED
AND FOURTH
ANNIVERSARY

of the birth of

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
Lincoln Centennial Association

At The
State Armoury, in Springfield,
Illinois, on the *twelfth day*
of February, nineteen hundred
and thirteen

SPRINGFIELD

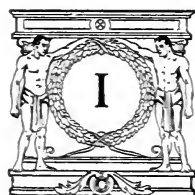
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THE
P R E F A C E .

THE names of the Speakers will be considered by all Thoughtful Persons a sufficiently satisfactory Recommendation of the following sheets. The Occasion which brought forth these Addresses was one of a series of like Notable Events which merit recall as an Introduction to this Publication.



IN THE year Nineteen Hundred and Eight the Lincoln Centennial Association was incorporated under the laws of the State of Illinois and chartered

“to properly observe throughout the Nation the One Hundredth Anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln and to Pre-

serve to Posterity the Memory of His Words and Works and to stimulate the Patriotism of the Land by appropriate Annual Exercises."

At the First Celebration held under its auspices, February Twelfth, Nineteen Hundred and Nine, the Right Honorable James Bryce, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Great Britain; the Honorable J. J. Jusserand, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic; the Honorable Jonathan P. Dolliver, United States Senator from Iowa; and the Honorable William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, delivered memorable addresses in the afternoon to an audience of Ten Thousand people, and in the evening at a banquet served to Eight Hundred guests.

At the Second Celebration, February Twelfth, Nineteen Hundred and Ten, the

Honorable Charles S. Deneen, Governor of Illinois, and Doctor Booker T. Washington of the Tuskegee Institute, spoke at a banquet served in the St. Nicholas Hotel, Springfield.

On February Eleventh, Nineteen Hundred and Eleven, the Association celebrated the One Hundred and Second Anniversary of Mr. Lincoln's birth with a banquet served in the State Armoury to nearly a thousand people, who heard the Honorable William Howard Taft, then President of the United States, and the Honorable Martin W. Littleton, Member of Congress from New York.

The Fourth Celebration, in the form of a banquet served February Twelfth, Nineteen Hundred and Twelve, in the Leland Hotel at Springfield, brought to the members of the Association most instructive addresses by the Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts and the Honorable Frank B. Willis of Ohio.

Again on the evening of the Twelfth of February, Nineteen Hundred and Thirteen, nearly Eight Hundred of the members of the Association and their friends met at a banquet served in the Illinois State Armoury at Springfield to celebrate the One Hundred and Fourth Anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. It was at this time that the following addresses were delivered.

PHILIP BARTON WARREN,
Secretary, Lincoln Cen-
tennial Association.

June, 1913.





AFTER the Banquet had been served and just before the Introduction of the Speakers of the Evening, the President of the Association made the following

Introductory Remarks



JUST a few in this great audience knew Mr. Lincoln in the closest intimacy and stood at his back during the years of his public service.

The remainder of us came to the years of discretion after he had passed into that mist, where the legendary heroes dwell. Of all that countless throng, he alone has power to stir

our hearts as with a living presence. He had the quality of moral and mental sanity, and his soul is so fine and so strong that, although we never saw him, he inspires us with a sort of spiritual comfort. He, more than all the others, can make us understand the tenderness and truth and unselfishness that go with the highest greatness.

He had the God-given power of self-effacement. To him private conscience was public conduct. To him, the work was everything—the workman nothing. This it was which enabled him to use the strength and overlook the weakness of Seward and Chase and Stanton and Greely.

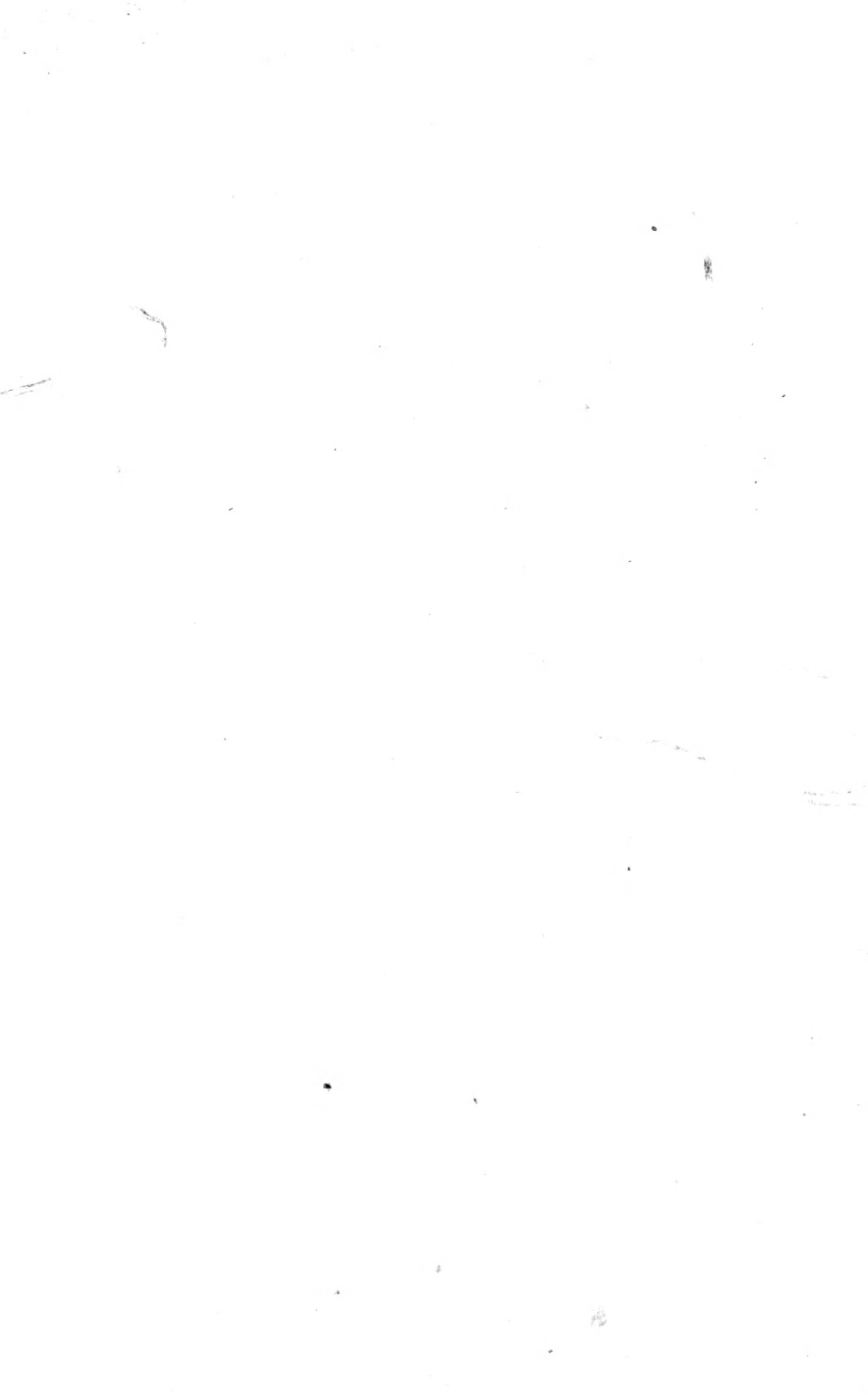
This strange first product of the west confounded the skilled eyes of these men. To them, he was a new creation; half smiles; half tears; half anger; half forgiveness; half determination; half halting; seeking ever a

middle course and patient in the knowledge that he would be misconstrued by both sides.

They thought him rude, but learned from him true gentleness of manner. Their scholarly minds were baffled by his matchless mastery of statement. He taught them, as he is teaching the world today, that there is no strength in noise and no virtue in abuse.

Lincoln's power over human hearts is the power of the man, not the magistrate. We recognize the debt we owe him for saving the Union, but when we read the Bixby letter, we forget constitutions and states and war and remember only the man and the healing touch he applied to the wounds of others, forgetful of his own.

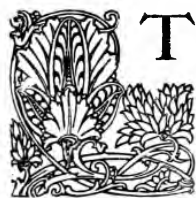






The INTRODUCTION
of
Count J. Bernstorff

German Ambassador to the United States
by the President of the Association
HONORABLE J OTIS HUMPHREY



THERE is an Empire over seas
whose history can all be read in
the biographies of her rulers
from the great Elector to Wil-
liam the second. By powerful individuals un-
hampered by considerations of popular favor,

her people have been led and driven and welded into men of iron mold.

In popular education, in music, in agricultural and industrial science, indeed in every field of original research, the world looks to Germany. Our own debt can never be told in words. We cannot forget with what devotion our Germans sustained Mr. Lincoln in his struggle to preserve the Union. To our crucible of civilization, the German immigrant has furnished a sturdiness and integrity of character, and a spirit of patriotism, which gives to him and to those who may follow him, a special welcome to our shores.

The distinguished Ambassador of the German Empire to the United States is our guest tonight. We shall be interested to hear from him of "Lincoln as Germany regarded him." Gentlemen, his Excellency, the German Ambassador.



Lincoln as Germany Regarded Him

Being the Address Delivered by

Count J. Bernstorff



WHEN Goethe had attained a very high age and had reached the summit of his fame, the witty and sarcastic remark was once made with regard to him, that even Cicero would not have been sufficiently impudent to deliver a panegyric on such a man. This remark would seem to apply to me if I ventured to eulogize Abraham Lincoln before a represent-

ative assembly of Americans, who are much more familiar with the history of this great hero than I am. All the more so as I have not the least claim to being a Cicero when I speak in a language which is not my own and to the beauty of which I cannot do full justice. As you, however, have honored me by asking me to speak at this anniversary, I will venture to make a few remarks on Abraham Lincoln as he appeared to the Germans of his day and of the later generations. The election of Lincoln in 1860 was a product of the movement largely supported by the citizens of German birth and extraction, that had led to the foundation, four years previous, of a new national party. Lincoln's personality as shown in his honesty of purpose, the courage of his convictions, and last but not least, by his big heart, whose every throb was for the whole people, strongly appealed to the German sentiment.

At this day, as we look back to the time of Lincoln and recall the trials with which he was confronted and which he successfully overcame, we can realize what a strong man he was. He was a born leader, in truth the savior of your country. Though he must often have been at the end of his resources, he always displayed an inspiring confidence, and in him was highly developed that rare characteristic of winning men to his side. Such a hero would naturally have a strong attraction for the American citizens of German birth of his time, most of whom—I need only mention the greatest among them, Carl Schurz—were so consumed with the passion of liberty that they came here in search of freedom, after the political movement of 1848 had failed to give our own nation the unity and liberal institutions which we now enjoy. It will always be a proud boast of the American

citizens of German extraction that in their ancestors the immortal Lincoln had as strong supporters as ever championed the cause of a leader.

When Lincoln had, to use his own words, to accept war for a worthy subject, he found the same support on the part of the Americans of German birth. During the Civil War there were, according to the records of the American Sanitary Commission, 187,158 Germans, born in Germany, enlisted in the different regiments of the Northern States. When Abraham Lincoln called on Missouri for her quota of soldiers, the Governor replied defiantly, that Missouri never would furnish soldiers to fight her sister states. But that Governor had overlooked the fact that long before the outbreak of the rebellion the Germans in St. Louis and other places, had drilled the members of their athletic clubs in the manual of

arms for the defense of the Union. Their strength and their influence saved Missouri for the Union. At the close of the Civil War, Missouri had contributed more soldiers to the Northern Army than Massachusetts, the so-called rock of Anti-Slavery. I recently read with great pleasure the vivid description which Mr. Winston Churchill has given of this episode of the Civil War in his brilliant novel, "The Crisis."

In acting as they did, these Germans only showed the same sentiments which were prevalent in their old home. The influence of such men as Lieber and the fact of a German emigration to America of a highly intellectual quality since 1848 were circumstances undoubtedly influential in establishing in the mother country sympathy for the northern cause. Andrew D. White, the distinguished Ambassador to Germany, on his visit to Eu-

rope at that time found friends among all classes of Germans. In one of his later public speeches he said: "Of one thing I then and always reminded my hearers—namely, that during our Civil War, when our national existence was trembling in the balance and our foreign friends were few, the German press and people were steadily on our side. Germans everywhere recognized the real question at issue in the American struggle. Everywhere on German soil was a deep detestation of human bondage. Frankfort-on-the-Main became a most beneficial center of financial influences, and from first to last Germany stood firmly by us."

Germany gave not only her sympathy, but her gold, in defense of the Union and the purchase of United States bonds in the German financial centres contributed very largely toward sustaining the Union in the long strug-

gle which the government was forced to make against the powerful Southern Confederacy.

What the Germans most admired in Abraham Lincoln, and what I believe made him the greatest leader in the greatest crisis of your national life, was that in him "The native hue of resolution" was not "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought."

He did not indulge in the delusion that the Union could be maintained or restored without a conflict of arms. Although he abhorred war for any purpose, the firmness of his moral courage enabled him to take the great responsibility of leading the nation into a war for union and freedom and through weary years of alternating success and disaster. He did not waver for a moment when many anti-coercion meetings were held and a cry for peace at any price arose on all sides. The confidence he felt he expressed in the words: "Let

us have the faith that right makes might and in that faith let us to the end do our duty as we understand it."

In our days there is a strong peace movement sweeping over all countries, and who will deny that it seems a beautiful idea to save the world forever from the mighty scourge of war. On the other hand, we must not forget that peace should never be bought at the price of sacrificing our ideals. There is always a danger that we might regard material prosperity as our chief aim and object. Every man should be ready to give his life for something beyond his selfish interests. I have often heard it said at peace meetings that all the wars in the course of history could have been prevented if the leaders of the nations had been more filled with the milk of human kindness when they approached the questions at issue. Seldom has any of the rulers of men been

more kind hearted than Abraham Lincoln. He hated to see any creature suffer, and nevertheless, he was under the moral obligation to decide for war instead of peace. He felt and said that: how the question of slavery was decided "did not mean much to a man of fifty, but a great deal to the posterity of the people in all coming time, because thoughtful men must feel that the fate of civilization in this country was involved in the issue of the contest."

The unity of your nation could not have been maintained without war, just as 90 years before the colonies could not have gained their independence without fighting.

The history of my own country tells the same tale. Religious freedom in Germany would not have been won if the nation had not been ready to sacrifice its material prosperity during the thirty years of one of the most ter-

rible wars of all history. Likewise the unity of the German nation, which had been its constant hope and ideal for nearly 100 years, could never have been restored if the people had not been ready to suffer the terrible ordeal of three wars in 1813, 1866 and 1870. The craving of the soul of the German nation for unity is the last but not least reason I should mention which influenced our people in their sympathy with Abraham Lincoln and his policy.

In those days the United States was represented in Berlin by George Bancroft, one of your most eminent historians and statesmen. It is a great pleasure to read the exceedingly interesting letters he wrote from Berlin, the most significant of which have been published not long ago. Bancroft brought a true sympathy and understanding to the observation and to the direction of the relations with Ger-

many. His attitude assured him a cordial acceptance in Berlin, he was received into the inner circles of scholarly, social and political life, and formed habits of friendship with Bismarck and Moltke. The political situation of Europe was such that Bancroft regarded the unitarian tendencies in both countries as correlating. In one letter he writes: The inhabitants of Germany are thoroughly friendly to us. And well they may be. But for the triumph of the Union in America, it could not have succeeded in Germany. Again and again Bancroft states, that Bismarck and the King were true to the Union during the Civil War and averse to any recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy, whenever such proposals were put forward from other quarters. In another letter we hear that Moltke said to Bancroft: "The Americans at least are truly our friends."

Under a later date, Bancroft tells us of a dinner he gave the day of the inauguration of General Grant as President of the United States. Bismarck was among the guests and held a short speech. After referring to the times of Frederick the Great, Bismarck continued: "As to the subsequent relations between the two countries, it gives me the greatest pleasure to be able to state as a fact not only from my personal experience as a minister of Prussia, but from the archives of its history, that the cordial understanding, so happily inaugurated by Washington and Frederick, has never suffered even the slightest jar. Not only has no difficulty ever arisen between the two countries, nothing has ever occurred between them which so much as called for an explanation."


I will close my address with the fervent wish that such relations of friendship between our two countries may always continue.



Honorable J O. Humphrey
President of the Association

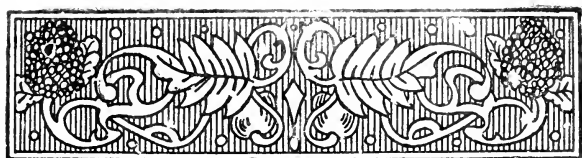
INTRODUCING

Senator Joseph W. Bailey
of Texas

 THERE is no South. Sectional feeling was shot to death by the million guns of the republic. The lurid fires of war burned away the barriers between east and west and north and south and gave to all the citizens of

the land a common country and a common flag. This was the legal effect of the war. It remained for a new generation to make it a fact in spirit and in truth. We have with us, as our guest tonight, one of the leaders of that new generation, an intellectual hero, a trained logician, a wise legislator, an expounder of the constitution, a champion of representative government, the Honorable Joseph W. Bailey of Texas.





If Lincoln Lived in This Day

An Address Touching the
PRINCIPLES *upon which OUR*
GOVERNMENT *was* FOUNDED

By the Honorable Joseph W. Bailey
of Texas



R. TOASTMASTER: The well informed people of this country know what Lincoln said and what Lincoln did in his life-time, and they so thoroughly approve it, as a whole, that in many places the anniversary of his birth is celebrated, and in all places his name

(xxvii)

is held in profound respect. What Lincoln would say and do if he lived in our time, must, of course, forever remain a matter of speculation, and yet it is a matter upon which every patriotic and thoughtful American citizen must feel inclined to speculate at this particular juncture of our public affair; for he met and passed a great crisis with such wisdom and such courage that his opinions, if we could know them, would help to guide us safely through our perplexities, which are no less than his were. Very few who hear me, and perhaps none of them, will, upon the instant, concede that our situation is as perplexing as that which confronted Lincoln; but if you will analyze the two, I am confident that you will find much to justify the comparison.

The great question which compelled an answer from Lincoln was whether he would recognize the right of a state to secede from

the Union. You will say, and I will agree with you, that a more momentous question had never been presented to any of his predecessors in the presidential office; you will also say, and I will agree with you, that no man has ever returned what time has proved to be a more satisfactory answer to any question of such transcendent importance. But after all, that question involved only the indissolubility of the Union, and it did not touch the fundamental principles upon which its government was to be administered. The states which attempted a secession sought to carry with them the great principles upon which the Republic had been founded, and the Constitution which they ordained was almost a literal transcript of the Federal Constitution.

I do not, of course, underestimate the magnitude of the question which secession raised, and as the passions of that unhappy conflict

have passed out of all minds, the people of the South themselves admit the unanswerable logic of the practical argument against secession which Lincoln made in his first inaugural address. We realize now, that a separation in government and in feeling which still left us contiguous in territory would aggravate rather than remove the causes of sectional animosity. We know now that the differences which alienated the men of the South from the men of the North could never have been reconciled under separate governments, and that growing in bitterness with the years they would have provoked collisions which must have engendered a permanent and deadly hatred. Thoroughly convinced of this, even the men who sought to establish the Confederate States of America by the force of arms now believe that the preservation of the Union was worth all of the blood and the treasure which it cost; and if the

national integrity were assailed tomorrow, the sons of those who won the first Manassas would join the sons of those whose victory made Gettysburg one of the world's historic places, and together they would consecrate a new battlefield combining the glories of both.

To have defended the Union as a mere matter of sentiment could not excuse the sacrifice of many human lives and the vast expenditure of money; to have levied a war simply for the purpose of demonstrating that the Federal government possessed the physical power to coerce the seceding states, would have been an ignominious shame; and therefore, we must, in justice to Lincoln, understand that he sought to save the Union because he believed that it was better calculated than any other government which had ever existed to preserve and perpetuate the inestimable blessings of liberty and independence. Nor

must we miss the significance of the fact that those who attempted to dissolve the Union and to organize the Southern states into another and an independent government, laid its foundation on the same principles which our fathers had taught us to cherish, thus testifying to the world their belief in and their devotion to the governmental principles upon which this great Republic was builded.

The men of that day, though estranged by a long and bitter controversy over a peculiar institution and brought to the point of an armed conflict to enforce a separation, were yet of one mind with respect to the principles of a wise and a safe government. If they were not mistaken as to the value of the governmental principles which they cherished and defended, then I must be entirely within the truth when I declare that the proposal to abandon the principles on which the Union was

founded should be resisted with the same firmness as was the effort to dissolve the Union, because, after all, the highest value of the Union was, and is, that it is the best means of preserving the principles upon which it was founded.

I can almost read in the minds of some around these tables an anxiety lest I shall violate the proprieties of this occasion by discussing the party politics of today. You can dismiss that fear, for while what I am about to say may have some relation to current events and discussions, I shall endeavor to say it in such a way as to lift it above a plane where it might justly excite resentful criticism. Here, at least, I would call no man's motives into question, nor express the slightest doubt of any man's sincerity or patriotism; but the very place which would restrain us from indulging in personal and party politics is the very place

above all others where we are commanded to counsel with each other for the safety of the Republic.

One of the most valuable admonitions which ever fell from Lincoln's lips was that in which he warned his countrymen against innovations, and urged them in impressive words and with prophetic vision, to stand in the old ways and never to change the institutions of our fathers unless the wisdom of that change was so apparent that even the authority of their great names could not forbid it. That advice is wise, not because Lincoln uttered it, but Lincoln uttered it because it was wise; and it ought to be written in letters of gold on the walls of every school house and university in this land.

Judging what Lincoln would say if he were with us now by what he did say when he lived, I have no shadow of doubt that to the impa-

tient men who would abandon the principles of this government in order to accomplish what they call "reforms," he would counsel moderation and explain to them that every useful reform can be accomplished under this government as it is, and without any departure from its great principles. He would call on them to point out when and where the wise and fearless application of its principles has ever failed to meet any new condition or to solve any new problem.

When thoughtless men, forgetting that all governments, if they move wisely, must move with deliberation, complain about an occasional disregard of what seems to be the public will and demand that a direct Democracy shall be substituted for our representative Democracy, Lincoln would tell them that the people have never failed to make their will effective with respect to any question of sufficient im-

portance to command their earnest attention; and his opinion would be confirmed by our own experience. I remember that only a few years ago a considerable number of people in this country contended that it was impossible to eradicate the evils of our transportation system so long as it was owned by corporations or managed by corporate officials, and they insisted that the government should assume the ownership and undertake the operation of our railroads. But our people were too wise to fall into that error, and they adopted a safer and better plan of action. We maintained that it was the duty, and that it was within the power, of the government to compel all railroads to discharge their obligations to the public; but we denied that it was the duty, or that it was within the proper province, of the government to become a common carrier for hire. Recognizing that the railroads were obligated,

both in morals and in law, to give everybody fair service for fair pay, and to give everybody the same service for the same pay under the same conditions, we entered resolutely upon a campaign to compel the faithful performance of that obligation, and the result has fully met our expectations and fulfilled our promises to the people. The railroad charges in this country today are lower than in any country in the world where the railroads are owned and operated by the government; and the railroad service in our country is better than in any other country, while the wages paid to our railroad employees are much above the wages paid to railroad employees in other countries. We have reduced all railroad charges to a basis where with few exceptions they are fair and just, and we have so completely destroyed rebates and discriminations that those offenses are as rare in this country now as the commis-

sion of other crimes among our intelligent business men. We did not accomplish all of this in a day, or without a struggle; but the fact that we have accomplished it ought to convince the impatient reformer that everything which ought to be done can be done in time, and will be done in time, without abandoning or impairing the fundamental principles of a free and an orderly government. Exactly as we have destroyed railroad rebates and discriminations, so we will destroy monopolies and all combinations in restraint of trade, and we can do the latter, as we have done the former, without doing violence to the constitution or to our well-settled theory of this government. I can understand how an impulsive man, finding himself opposed and defeated in a matter where he believes that he is clearly right, might feel that the old principles are not sufficient for modern conditions; but if he will

take the trouble to examine and review the successful contests which have been waged in behalf of what is right from the foundation of this government, he will find new hope and will realize that perseverance and determination under the government as it is will accomplish everything which can reasonably be desired.

To the men who allege the corporate control of our Courts, and Legislatures, as a justification for a change in our form of government, Lincoln would say that while it is undoubtedly true that in certain states and at certain times corporations have exercised a power dangerous to the welfare, and even to the liberties, of the people, it is likewise true that the people were soon aroused by that condition and have dealt with it so vigorously that in our time the corporations are rapidly abating their pernicious activity, and few of them now attempt to

control either our politics or our politicians. I have heard men, even within the last year or two, declaim vehemently against the Congress of the United States and charge it with subserviency to the great corporations; and yet I know, as does every man who has served in either House of Congress during the last ten years, that the corporate advocacy of any measure is practically certain to defeat it, while corporate opposition to any measure is almost certain to insure its enactment. I do not say that this is right. Indeed, I do not fear to say that it is wrong; because I unhesitatingly declare that every measure ought to be considered and determined upon its own merits, without looking to the character of its supporters or its opponents.

Not only is it true that corporations are impotent in Congress, but the same is true in nearly all of our state legislatures, and it is

rapidly becoming true in those rare exceptions which still seem amenable to corporate influence. It is not now, and it never was, necessary to subvert this republic or to abandon its fundamental principles in order to protect the people from corporate wrongs; and surely the progress we have made in dealing with that mighty problem is enough to satisfy every fair minded man, and to convince even the doubting ones, that in a struggle between the people and the corporations, the people ought, and the people will, prevail. Indeed, we have reached a point where it is no longer a question of our power to successfully resist corporate aggression; but it is a question of whether, having vindicated our power in that regard, we will now use it with that moderation which justice to the corporations may require.

Although it was not so definite then as it is now, and they did not employ those particular

names, there was some talk of "Progressives" and "Reactionaries" in Lincoln's time, and he was "a sane Progressive" according to his letter to Zachariah Chandler, in which he said:

"I hope to stand firm enough not to go backward, and yet not go forward fast enough to wreck the country's cause."

In that sense all thoughtful men are Progressives, because that means no more than a belief in progress; but the advocates of rash governmental experiments will find no comfort in that declaration. That Lincoln was a radical on the slavery question is undoubtedly true, and yet the radicalism which he practiced, and which he preached, respected the Constitution of the United States, and submitted to all of its wholesome restraints. If he sought to change the Constitution, it was according to the forms which it prescribed, and

his allegiance to the great principles of this government, as well as his reverence for the Constitution of his country, would have moved the blatant demagogues of this day to denounce him as a Reactionary and a Tory.

If Lincoln lived in our time, he would rebuke the men who declare that the door of hope has been closed in this country to the ambitious poor, and in answer to the assertion which we now hear repeated so often that wealth commands political success more certainly than intellect and character, he would point to the simple fact that at the last election the son of a scholarly but impecunious Presbyterian preacher was called to the highest office within the gift of this Republic. He would tell them also that in New York, which if judged by population and wealth must be counted the greatest state of the Union, a man sprung from the loins of the common people, had struggled

up from poverty and obscurity and was chosen Governor of that great commonwealth. He would also tell them that in another state, the greatest of all in its area and possibilities, and destined soon to become the greatest of all in its actualities, the people re-elected a Governor last year whose pride is not humbled by the circumstance that after he had reached man's estate, he worked for a modest wage as a daily laborer. He would remind them that the history of every state is illuminated by the struggles and the achievements of men born in the humbler walks of life who are winning fame and fortune for themselves under the institutions of our fathers, and he would implore his countrymen not to destroy a system which makes these triumphs possible.

To the gossellers of discontent, who tell us from day to day about the oppressions and the privations of labor, he would answer that the

laborers of this country and of this generation are better fed, better clothed, better housed, better educated and better paid than the laborers of any other land or of any other age since the creation of the world. He would say, and in that statement he would be supported by the memory of men who lived with him and who have been spared to live with us, that the mechanic of today lives better than the merchant did fifty years ago; and that the merchant of today lives better than the banker did fifty years ago. There has been a universal elevation in the scale of living, and no class of our people have enjoyed the benefit of that improvement more than our working classes. Lincoln would not say that there are no "wrongs which need resistance" or that there are no "rights which lack assistance;" but encouraged by the wonderful progress which we have made, he would exhort us to keep on in

the same way. He would recognize that every age, inheriting the wisdom and experience of all the other ages, ought to be better than the preceding age; but he would know that in striving for too much, we would be apt to lose, at least, a part of what we have gained.

Lincoln was the friend of labor, but set his face resolutely against all violence, and in his reply to the workingmen of New York he told them that the man who is houseless should not pull down the house of another, but should work diligently to build a house of his own, thus assuring its safety when it was built. As a brother talking to his brothers, he would tell them that to respect the rights of all others is the best way to insure that all others will respect their rights; and he would warn them against class antagonism as a thing of deadly enmity to their own happiness and to the free institutions of their country. Instead of in-

stilling into their minds a prejudice against their more prosperous neighbors, he would bring them to understand that after all the highest success in this life is measured by what we do and think, rather than by what we earn and save. He would tell them that if wealth and position are the standards of success, then many brave and manly men must be condemned to failure, because God in His providence has not endowed all of His children with the intellect to win the favor of their countrymen, or with the energy to accumulate a fortune. But if we will erect that better standard which judges men by what they are rather than by what they have, then all may meet it and are thus encouraged in striving to do so. Under that rule, the carpenter's son who is just and brave and honest shall be more highly respected than the son of any millionaire who wastes his father's fortune in

idle dissipation, and tarnishes his father's name by gross excesses. Lincoln's philosophy of life was one of encouragement and hope, because it was one according to which the average man can live contented and be respected.

There may be some doubt in the minds of others, but there is no doubt whatever in my mind as to what Lincoln would say to those who entreat us to purify our politics by extending the electoral franchise to women. Before entering deeply upon a consideration of the question and before inquiring how far female suffrage is consistent with all sound theories of government, he would perceive and say that the very claim that women will make our politics better is in itself an admission that our politics are worse than our women; and, therefore, that while the women are helping to elevate our politics, our politics will be

helping to degrade our women. It is axiomatic that when you mix the good with the bad the result is a compound in which the bad is made a little better and the good is made a little worse.

I am not one of those who believe that American politics are so unclean as they are represented, and my personal observation has been that the politicians who do most of this talking about unclean politics are the very men who are doing most to render difficult the task of their purification; because by falsely charging patriotic and honest men with improper conduct and selfish motives, they divert the public attention from men who do betray the public interest. But conceding that our politics are as bad as the most fanatical of these reformers say they are, that fact to my mind makes the argument against woman's participation in them all the stronger, because

the worse they are the more injurious they will be to a woman's purity and gentleness.

I am one of those old-fashioned people who believe that God had a purpose in the creation of all His creatures, and my simple faith still leads me to believe in the scriptures. I believe that God created woman for man's help-mate, and not for his governor. I read and believe the story as related in Genesis, that after God had created the earth, and the sky, and had divided the waters above from the waters below; after He had created the fish of the sea, the fowls of the air, the beasts of the forests, and had made man in His own image, He surveyed His work and finding it imperfect, He made it perfect by creating a woman. He did not make her, as He had made man, out of common clay; but from the man himself into whose nostrils He had breathed the breath of immortal life, He made the woman

and gave her to us to bless our home, and lead us with gentleness and grace into the better things of life.

I regret to say that these pious, and as I think, sufficient reflections are now scoffed at by women who aspire to be more like men, and by men who, whether they wish it or not, are daily becoming more like women. Half in anger, which always misbecomes a woman, and half in disgust, which fits the male advocates of this "ism" like a garment, these people who plead for female suffrage tell us that all we say is merely a sickly sentiment, and no answer to their demand for justice between the sexes. Whenever a woman finds that her position requires her to scoff at a sentiment, she ought to deeply consider whether or not she is right, and if she really must reject a sentiment in order to sustain her position, her plain duty, according to my judgment, is to

abandon her position and cling to the sentiment. But ladies and gentlemen, these shallow thinkers are much mistaken when they say that the opponents of female suffrage can offer nothing but a sentiment in opposition to it.

As a matter of fact, to allow women to vote is contrary to the very soundest principles of political justice. No logic can escape the proposition that no persons are entitled to exercise the full privileges of citizenship unless they are capable of performing the full duties of citizenship. This is the supreme test, and it is absurd to suppose that good women can meet it.

No man would be willing to conscript women and compel them to fight the battles of a war; but if a woman cannot fight the battles of a war, she should not be permitted to vote on questions involving a declaration of war.

No man would be willing to clothe the sheriff of a county with the power to call our mothers, daughters, wives and sisters from their homes and compel them to help him quell a riot or arrest an outlaw; and yet if women are permitted to make the laws under which sheriffs can summon you and me to perform that duty, they must themselves be subject to their own laws.

No man who has a proper respect for women, would require them to perform jury service and compel them to pass days and nights locked up in a jury room with strange men considering a case, the testimony of which the right kind of woman would not discuss freely with her neighbors of her own sex.

That woman's natural delicacy and weakness render it impossible for her to fight battles, to put down riots and to serve on juries, are, to my mind, an incontestable proof that

God did not intend her to make the laws under which men are required to do these things. To allow women to make the laws under which men must perform these high personal duties of citizenship, while women are exempt from them, would mean that women are not only to have equal rights with men, but they would really have greater rights than men.

There are many other questions of this day with respect to which I would delight to venture the opinions of Abraham Lincoln; but I have already spoken longer than an occasion like this justifies any man in doing. Before I resume my seat, however, I must tender my thanks to the committee of your Association, to the Legislature of your State, and to the citizens of Springfield, for the generous courtesy with which I have been everywhere received. I have spent many delightful days

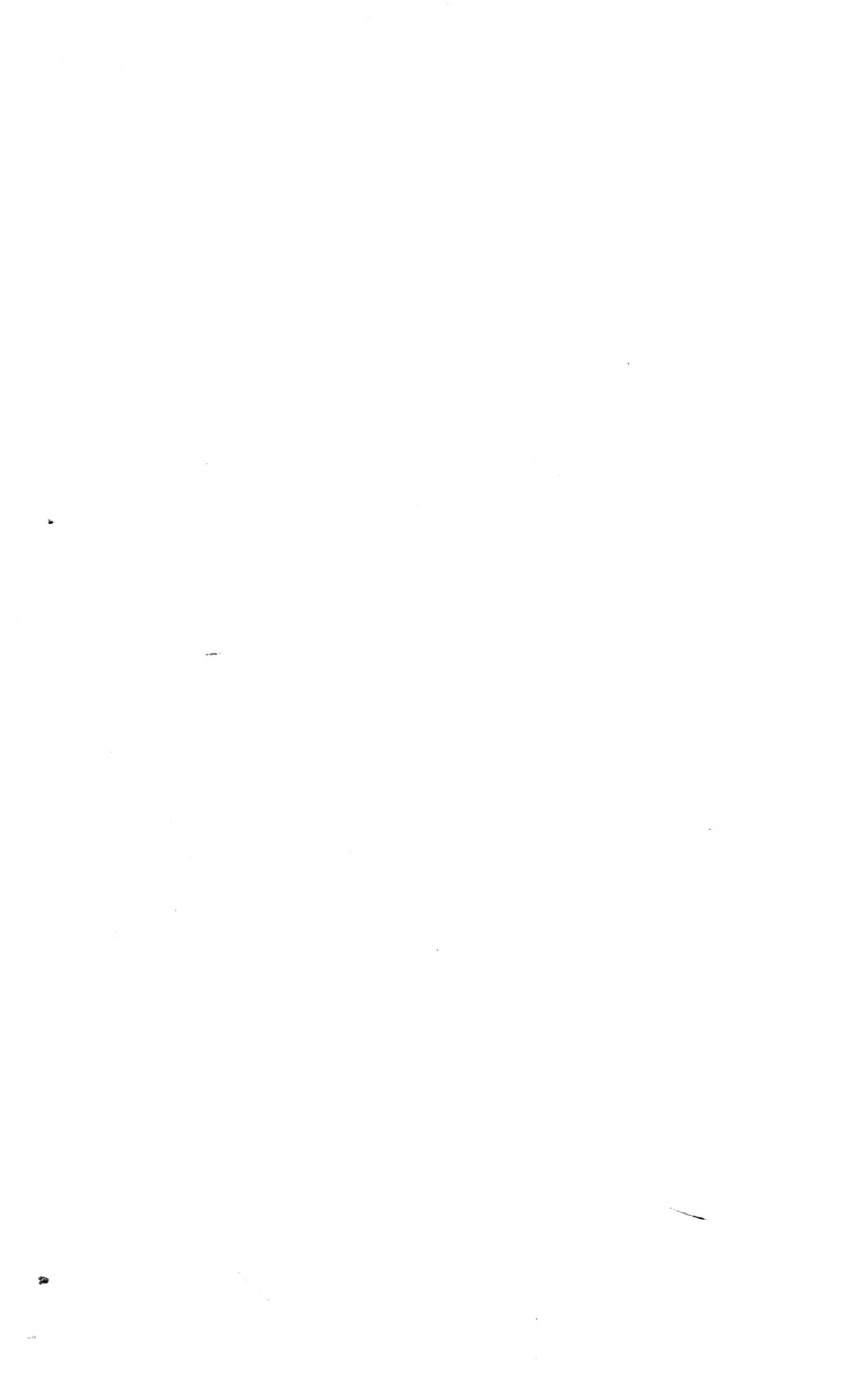
in my life, but I have never passed a more delightful day in the midst of strangers than this has been. It was my privilege and my pleasure to visit for the first time the modest home where Lincoln lived, and the splendid tomb which holds his sacred dust. As I stood there I comprehended a new meaning in those beautiful lines which tell us that:

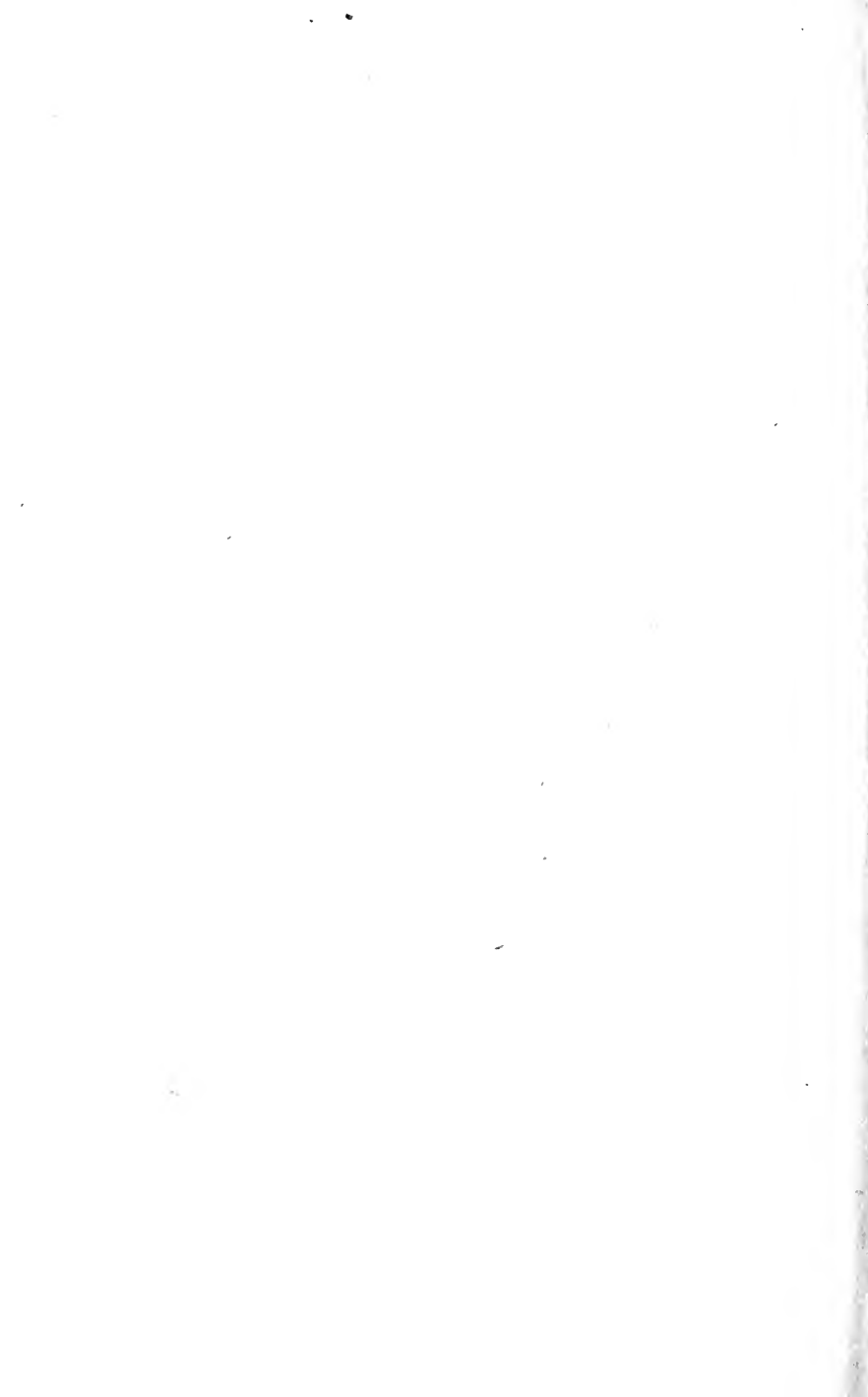
“Such graves as his are Pilgrim shrines,
Shrines to no code or creed confined,—
The Delphian vales, the Palestines,
The Meccas of the mind.”

As I stood beside his tomb, my heart running over in silent worship for the mighty dead of both sections, my patriotism was baptised anew as with fire; and tonight, as we celebrate the anniversary of his birth, let us all resolve to do our duty in the days which are yet to come as firmly and as bravely as he did his duty in the days which have passed and gone.

I cannot read the future; and I do not know what it holds for us. But whether the sober second thought of the American people shall assert itself, and we shall renew our devotion to those great principles upon which this Republic was founded, thus fulfilling the sublime mission to which our fathers dedicated it; or whether the restless discontent which now inflames the minds of so many men, shall lead us into new and dangerous experiments, destined to fail, and in their failure to bring upon our devoted land disasters from the contemplation of which I shrink; let us remember that this is still our country, and let us resolve to do our duty, as best we can, to promote its welfare and to secure the liberties of its people forever and forever more.







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